disposal of the qaimmaqam. This latter detachment is not quartered in the serai, but occupies a similar, smaller building of its own a short distance up the road which serves as a barracks and a garage for the vehicles. However, the actual direction of the police has its place in the serai, because the qaimmaqam is its civilian director, and his assistant, the mamur (Arabic, "official"), an officer with the rank of lieutenant has an office there. These officers suffer somewhat in prestige because their rank was lower than that of many of the army officers of the neighborhood, and the army tends to look down on the police. During the summer of 1951, the mamur's adjutant, also an officer, was extremely unpopular with the townspeople for the familiar abuse of policemen in comedy, helping himself to refreshments and other small items at the expense of the merchants. The daily employment of the police in Rowanduz itself includes watching the market by day, providing guards for government buildings, transferring prisoners, and maintaining a patrol in the streets by night.

Perhaps there are no more favored objects of investment in the Middle East, no matter how great or how small the amount involved, than precious metal or land. To all classes of society these two are tangible objects of wealth, and of incredibly greater desirability than such things as bank-notes or bonds, for governments and bankers are highly variable, but soil or gold are always of value.

423 Because of this conviction, the legal ownership of land
454 becomes an administrative matter of the gravest import, and the office of the director of tapu (registered land) in Rowanduz the scene of some of the most serious transactions in the serai.

423 The laws of Iraq treating the tenure of land are somewhat complex, as both Quranic and Ottoman classifications are intermingled in the modern code, but only two categories need concern us here, tapu and amiriya. Tapu-land is that which has been registered and to which a title of private ownership is recognized. Amiriya-land is that belonging to the state, not only that in use for government installations, but almost all "unoccupied" land. Under certain conditions, such as occupancy over a period of 15 years, amiriya-land can become privately owned. Whenever there is a transaction in land, usually a sale, the parties concerned must have reference to the director of tapu in the serai. An engineer from his office makes a survey of the land in question, which, in the form of a map, serves as a deed. One copy is given to the owner and another retained in the office.

423 A third category, which not only includes land, but
735 also houses and other forms of property, is waqf, the
429 religious donation. A man, for a variety of reasons, may leave his property to the Islamic faith and it becomes untaxable and inviolable. Such property is placed for the use, usually at extremely low rates, of poorer folk among

Just as it is difficult to typify the size and buildings of an agricultural village, the cultivated lands of a village are held in different ways, and the mode of land tenure varies from locale to locale. The distinction between tapu, "registered land," and amiriya, "state land," might be remembered, for it is often the subject of bitter quarrels between government and chieftains, the latter holding that certain lands classified as amiriya had "belonged" to their village or to their tribe for generations. Aside from this conflict between official and owner, there are villages which "own" their lands completely, others which can lay claim to only a part, and still others which are entirely owned, houses and lands together, by wealthy landlords, many of whom are absentees. The preferential conversion of surplus wealth into real estate has been noted, and the owners of village lands may range from tribal chieftains and persons of great fortune to relatively poor merchants or clerks who have invested their savings in a small plot for the inheritance and support of their sons. Thus the Rowandux district has a great number of villagers who are tenants and, while in no sense bound to the soil as serfs, have a relationship with their landlords which, in its exchange of obligations and courtesies, can often resemble that between patron and client in the early days of the Roman Republic. Sadiq Agha, who lives in a house in Rowanduz, "owns" the village of Shaytina, leaving its immediate supervision to a sort of bailiff or overseer, one of the prominent villagers, who is termed the mukhtar,

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of persons in a series of exchanges. There is neither bank nor money-changer in the town, and the funds of a merchant are in interesting safekeeping, either locked up in a chest or buried in the floor in his house, the latter practice being quite common. For everyday purposes the merchant keeps only a little cash on hand, usually a dinar or two in change in a tin cigarette-box or a drawer. A number of the older men are illiterate, and the difficulties of keeping accounts give them great trouble. Several years ago the teachers offered the townspeople some courses along these lines at night, and were very surprised at their popularity. The greybeards learning their arithmetic is still considered a grand joke. Usually the illiterate merchants seek the help of some friend to prepare their lists and to work out more complicated sums, and many place high expectation in the help of their sons at school.

Before describing in greater detail the roles of the merchants and craftsmen of the town, it is convenient here to provide a list of persons according to their occupations. It will readily be seen that a number of these are not engaged in commerce or craft, and still others employed only in the service of those residing in the town. It is appropriate, however, to present a complete grouping, inasmuch as these are the occupations of the townspeople, save only those who are wealthy enough to neglect work, the mullas or religious leaders, those

children, six girls and a boy), and various household necessities, particularly firewood and kerosene. He also has to pay taxes on his house and his shop, as well as maintain two children in school. Finally, there is a variety of miscellaneous purchases, including gifts for his wife, an animal for Jayjani Ramazan, tobacco for cigarettes (his wife is an inveterate smoker), and benevolent collections. All things considered, Fatah-Ullah's cash profit at the end of a typical year is not extensive, perhaps ten or twenty dinars, and this sum is never invested nor is it used to expand his business, but is hoarded in cash and removed from circulation.

In completing this discussion of merchants, craftsmen, and laborers in Rowanduz, it is convenient to reserve until later persons, such as the midwives, as well as a number of others whose employment is only casual or in the service of religion, for they have little real economic significance in the community. Of those here treated, some notes of their origins have been made, and their derivation from older families in the town, from the villages, or from without the district itself, as in the case of Shakir Effendi and the merchant Fatah-Ullah who moved in years past from Sulaymaniya. It is important to realize that all of these occupations, even those of the craftsman, are so simple that almost any man can try his hand at them after the briefest of apprenticeships, and, indeed, the occupational histories of a large number in the town are extremely varied. There are no unions or guilds, and

absence of investigation, the function of village tattooing in this area is not precisely known, but it appears that it has no tribal or territorial significance, and is either decorative, magical, or both. 304

The toilet of children does not differ greatly from that of adults, and girls of wealthier homes use cosmetics in imitation of their mothers, just as the older boys remain unshaven in hopes of growing a moustache. For six months after birth, the nails of a baby must not be cut, and an infant's hair is trimmed for the first time at about the age of one year. At four or five the boys are circumcised, but the accompanying ceremony, as well as the operation itself, will be found described in a later section. The ear lobes of the girls can be pierced at any time in their early years, but cutting a nostril for the khizam or nose-ring is only to be seen in the villages. 302 [854] 304 [852] [184]

The jewelry of women, of gold and silver, has an important economic function in daily life, for it is a repository of surplus capital, just like real estate, and provides insurance against poverty in the event of some disaster, additionally assuring the woman herself of some wealth if divorced or widowed. It is gathered in part from the bridal dowry and in part as gifts from her husband. If, for example, the dowry of a maiden is set at fifty dinars ($140.00), and this sum is matched by her father, making a total of a hundred dinars ($280.00), only a part is needed for dresses and household goods, 301 [454] 583 301

nd the remainder is converted into ornaments. Inasmuch 301
s the greater number of husbands do not anticipate di- [583]
orce, a profit realized in business may be presented to 301
heir spouses in this form, a matter of some delight for 454
he wife, not solely from the decorative point of view.
nly land and precious metal have real and lasting value
n the popular mind. A laborer in Rowanduz whose monthly
arnings were rarely in excess of four dinars ($11.20)
elated how his wife's jewelry had been stolen and sub-
equently recovered, its value estimated at eighty dinars
$224.00), a large sum for a man of this occupation. The
ewelry is the property of the wife, and she takes it with [586]
er if divorced, and is free to dispose of it as she
leases. If her husband falls into need, she usually sells
t to reinstate him or support the family, and may sub-
idize her son, perhaps in an advantageous marriage, in
he same way. The jewelry itself is today a product of 301
he gold and silversmiths of Erbil, and is not greatly [306]
ifferent in style from that produced for the lower classes
n Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and southern Iraq, save that
ome of the heavy silver ornaments of the Bedouin type,
uch as anklets, are not in use. In general, chains and
angles of precious metal are made up into more or less
omplex bracelets, necklaces, and earrings. One of the
ost expensive items is a collar or necklace of con-
entric circles of gold chain joined together by flat
angles of various geometric shapes, and another, the gurs
r disk used in the woman's headdress, has already been

agreed with them and went beyond them in the estimation of her worth, only the sale of all my family's property could realize their demand. One of them was kind enough to take me aside and to explain that there was a substantial difference between the documentary amount, publicized to the townspeople, and that which must actually be paid." It is perhaps for this reason that the mureddan, the amount "paid" at the time of the wedding, is a much larger proportion of the dowry than the mu'ahhar, that which must be forthcoming in divorce, the former representing in part the social fiction and the latter a more realistic economic appraisal. Nevertheless, the dowry functions strongly as an argument against heedless separations, and few men, having invested a substantial part of their own or their relatives' capital in a match, will undertake divorce lightly. As recorded above, many persons use unusual monetary gains to give their wives jewelry of precious metal, a matter of pleasure for the lady and, at the same time, further insurance against divorce or financial catastrophe.

583 554 [536] [301] [593] [454]

To approach the Kurdish kinship system, it is necessary to deal with certain other aspects of marriage, the first of which is incest. Unlawful intercourse or marriage between certain relatives is also governed by the religious law of Islam, and one cannot with confidence adduce anything from contemporary Kurdish society which will provide a functional or final explanation of the specific determinants of these proscriptions. There is

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r guest-room, apart from all of the women of the house. 604 594

The eldest brother occupies a position over his 593
rothers and sisters analagous to that of the father. He
hares to some extent in the parental authority and is
esponsible for the house when the father is absent. Often
e is entrusted with money from which he gives his younger
rothers their roshana, "daily allowance," a sum which in- [454]
reases in size with their years. The children are taught
o save this money in a box, and whenever the eldest
rother makes a journey to Erbil or a similar place he
takes their savings and purchases them something they
desire. Like that of the father, his word is law and all
of his directions must be carried out by those junior to
him without altercation. Whenever he enters the room,
the younger children are supposed to stand, although
this is not invariably done. If the eldest of the children [562]
is a girl, she has much the same authority as a boy, with-
out, however, the formalities mentioned above. She is
usually the chief helper of her mother in housework and
the care of the younger children. In several families
observed in which the eldest was a girl, the brothers dis-
obeyed or teased her only at the risk of being punished.
There seems to be little of a hierarchy among the younger
brothers and sisters, and it cannot be said, as it some-
times is in America, that the youngest is the darling of
the family, save in the case in which he is the first boy.
The boys learn very early to be jealous of their sisters' 593 557 577
honor, not only in protecting them in the usual quarrels

4: Honour E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

584 The initiative came from the young man himself. After a sister had left to be married, the son of the house, a 26 year old primary school teacher who naturally lived at home, began to conduct low-toned conversations with "my father's wife" (his stepmother), and with his sister my interpreter. These talks did not take place during the day, so to say openly, but in the evenings after many members of the family had gone to their rest. Confidential whispering went on between the two women and him as to whether they knew a suitable young girl in the houses they visited and whether they would not start negotiating with the mother of such a person. His savings, which he had put by penny by penny, were in the postoffice (not in the bank) and now amounted to a suitable bride price. I was told that the sum amounted to 500 Dinars, equivalent to £500. The reason why, in addition to his sister, he applied to his stepmother[49] rather than to his own mother was, I was told, because the younger wife of his father was better looking, a better conversationalist, and less old-fashioned than his own parent. The prospective bride was chosen from among the older pupils at the Guizha School for Girls where my interpreter was a teacher. As both the young man and the girl belonged to one of the better families in Sulaimani, they had never had anything to do with each other. Once, youthful in her shy, the girl had come to deliver a message at her teacher's house, and was told that the young man who had just left was her teacher's brother. This was all the contact the two had had. The girl was described as "very polite". This can be construed as meaning that her appearance was agreeable, her manners pleasing, and that she was well brought up and domestically capable. The families were unrelated to each other.

As I was away on a trip with my interpreter, I unfortunately missed the first two conversations between the women of the young man's family and the girl's mother, but I learned that the young man's stepmother, accompanied by a female acquaintance of established position, attempted alike for the wealth of her progeny and her worldly pretensions, paid an introductory call on the mother of the young girl on Wednesday, 28th August (1957), and a second visit on Friday, 30th August. At the third visit in the girl's home, both my interpreter and I were present. On this occasion four women of the young man's family negotiated with the sole representative of the girl's family, her mother. The talks took place in the home's guest reception room, which lay at the side of the entrance hall and was entered without passing through the family rooms grouped around a wooded courtyard. No refreshments were offered, not even tea water, which showed that the talks at that stage were not binding in any way. Whilst all this went on we were seated on a very high-legged, uncomfortable wide and equally uncomfortable chairs in an otherwise bare room. A cousin of the girl concerned entered the room, but the object of the negotiations put in no appearance[50].

Two matters were discussed at the third meeting: the one was the character of the customary information collected by the girl's family about the young man's reputation, the other, the size and employment of the bride price, which, in my experience, was debated at this stage and not postponed until the drawing up of the marriage contract by the men. Whereas the young man's family had naturally obtained as much information as possible about the girl and her family before seeking contact, it is only after the first meeting that the other side would begin to investigate a possible son-in-law's reputation in the town where, as a man, he spent the major part of his leisure and working hours. In the case I had an opportunity of following, it had apparently been said that the young man